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to declare, is not a matter of expediency or calculation but the essence of life for the individual and the community. It is a sacred necessity; and men must be in harmony amongst themselves and with the mystical powers that control their lives if they desire to gain the beneficence of these powers for this end. The ritual, the sacrifices, and the prayers to the ancestors and to the Earth, pleading for the fruitfulness of the land, of women, and of the flocks and herds, for health, prosperity, and peace, and offering thanks at the end of the agricultural year for these boons, eloquently express the Tale conception of the common good. In the rites of the Great Festivals the widest community that has social relevance for any Talǝŋ emerges, not as a hard-and-fast political unit, but as a temporary synthesis of all the forces of social integration operative in Tale society. This is an expression of the fact that, though they have no centralized government, the Tallensi do form a single body politic, albeit one without defined territorial boundaries. This unit is built up on the widely ramifying structural ties which knit the independent corporate units together. But its ultimate basis is a body of moral and jural norms and values accepted as binding by all Tallensi, and defended from the disruptive action of conflicting sectional interests by the most solemn ritual sanctions of Tale religion. The function of ritual collaboration between clans and lineages is to maintain the unchallengeable validity of these norms and values; for upon their observance the attainment of the common good ultimately depends.[1]

Native Thought and the Realities of Social Structure

We have digressed to survey the scope and function of ritual collaboration among the Talis in order to see what truth there is in the maxim that 'those who sacrifice together do not intermarry'. As a generalization it is obviously inaccurate; but it is valid for particular instances of linkage by clanship ties, though only as an *a posteriori* inference.

Tale elders do not fall into this error of deduction through lack of intelligence or ignorance of their social organization. Among the Tallensi, as among most primitive peoples, what appears to us to be defective logic usually proves to be a product of the social organization as it is apprehended by native thought. When an individual Talǝŋ applies the maxim we have criticized to his own particular field of social relations—not to that of his lineage or clan—it is perfectly apposite. For an individual in his personal capacity can only sacrifice together with other individuals if they are his kinsfolk or clansfolk; and this implies automatically that he cannot marry their daughters or sisters.

In the social philosophy of the Tallensi, as will be shown in the next volume of this study, kinship is the model of all social ties between individuals and groups. The ties of clanship, ritual collaboration, or local contiguity are visualized as so many different extensions and transformations of the fundamental patterns of kinship. For the individual this is accurate to a very large extent. There is a kinship element in all his social

[1] This aspect of Tale political organization and its wider sociological implications are discussed in *African Political Systems*, cit. supra.

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829 602 relations; for him they are all contained within a single frame of social reference, determined, at bottom, by his parentage. He cannot connect the rules and conditions that govern his own social behaviour with the general principles of Tale social structure. He has no means of ascertaining these, since the Tallensi do not make a systematic study of their own society. Every native knows only a limited sector of the social system, and the picture he has of it is built up out of his direct experience of the way in which it acts upon the day to day conduct of his life. Individuals who have the same or nearly the same field of social relations tend to have the same picture of their society; and individuals who have different fields of social relations tend to interpret their social behaviour and the structure of their society by the same concepts and along the same lines in so far as the same principles determine Tale social structure in every sector of the society. When we speak of Tale social philosophy or Tale thought, we do not mean that the natives have a systematic body of objective knowledge about their own society. We mean only the common denominators in the knowledge of their society that they have individually. Such knowledge, though partially inaccurate and transmitted only in face to face contact, is necessary for the existence of every society. For men employ their social notions in their relations with others and adapt their concepts to those of their fellows in carrying on collective life. Common notions emerge out of corporate and co-operative social action for common ends. In a society as homogeneous as that of the Tallensi this knowledge is widespread and tends to be uniform; hence the common denominators stand out.

829 602 x618 When a native harks back to kinship in order to explain or interpret any social tie that directs his corporate or co-operative activities, he is putting forward a common point of view, but not an objectively accurate one. The outside student, seeing Tale social life on a wider scale than any native, can see differences in the significance of kinship for the individual, and of clanship for a corporate unit. Thus, matrilateral kinship has a different value for the individual from what it has in the sphere of clanship. In the former case, matrilateral kinship confers definite privileges and obligations on an individual in relation to other individuals or to defined groups, and it has the same value for everybody. In the latter case, it is one of several fictions used to rationalize ties of a [601] particular kind between corporate units. For example, the sister's son (*ahɔŋ*) of a Ba'ari man is not entitled by right of matrilateral kinship to participate in sacrifices at Ba'at Da'a; but Ba'at-Lakum yidem exercise this right in virtue of clanship ties accounted for by the fiction of descent from a sororal nephew. Similarly, it is evident to the sociologist that the exogamic barrier by which ties of clanship are distinguished from other social ties has a different structural value from the prohibition against marrying a maternal kinsman; for the former is a factor of solidarity between corporate units, and the latter the index of a particular tie between certain individuals. But the natives lump them together.

829 602 x618 601 Thus it comes about that the Tallensi describe and discuss the social relations of corporate units in terms of kinship, using such concepts as *sunzɔ*, *mabii*, and *dɔyam*. The primary significance of these concepts will

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be discussed in our next volume. It will be useful, however, to sum up the meanings attached to them in the context of the structural relations between corporate units.

The term *sunzɔ* (pl. *sunzɔp*) means literally sibling by the same father. It is applied by the members of a particular lineage or clan to another lineage or clan with which they have a defined structural relationship, involving reciprocal rights, duties, and interests, identical with or analogous to those that obtain between segments of a single lineage. The natives visualize this relationship, which they describe by the abstract noun *sunzɔt*, as modelled on the social relationship of brothers.

Mabii (pl. *mabiis*), literally mother's child, and the abstract noun *mabiirət*, are more loosely used and have a wider range of reference. In its primary sense *mabii* denotes a kinsman of the same generation, in particular a sibling, as distinguished from kinsmen of a preceding or succeeding generation. Its emphasis, however, is not on the reciprocal rights, duties, and interests of siblings, but on their equality of status and on the sentiments of brotherhood based on common descent. A man can speak appropriately of his brother as his *mabii*, but not of his son. Lineages of the same order of segmentation can be described as *mabiis*, but not a segment of a lineage in relation to the whole lineage. Related clans, or even clans that have some distinctive usage in common, can speak of one another as *mabiis*. In certain circumstances all the Tallensi may be described as *mabiis* by contrast with non-Tallensi. *Mabiirət* means 'to be akin to one another in some way'—by kinship in the narrow sense, in a kinship context; by local propinquity, political or ritual association, common custom, or merely common race, in other contexts. It is reminiscent of our own phrase 'kith and kin', which we apply to our actual kinsmen in one context, and to our 'cousins', the Australians or Canadians, in another. We have tried to convey this by translating *mabiirət* by 'kinship in the wide sense'.

Lastly, there is the concept *dɔŋam*, derived from the verb *dɔŋ-*, to bear or beget a child. Its primary reference is to kinship by consanguinity; hence it is most appropriately used to refer to a structural tie based on a known or accepted genealogical connexion. It serves to distinguish such ties from apparently similar ties for which no genealogical connexion or at most a very general community of stock is postulated. Thus, a Tongo man will describe the people of Yamɔlag as 'our *dɔŋam*', but not the people of Zoo; they are merely 'our *mabiis*'. *Dɔŋam* has no reference to the relative status of the parties or to their precise jural relationship. Father and son, uncle and nephew, a person and his distant cognate, clansfolk, members of linked lineages, are all *dɔŋam* to one another. The term refers to the tie of consanguinity itself.

All three terms are frequently used in a metaphorical way to express attitudes of amity, solidarity, or goodwill, such as are taken for granted amongst kinsfolk, even where the parties concerned have no social ties based on genealogical connexion. To give an instance, Soog and Zubiuŋ were estranged from each other for a long time. At length they were compelled for ritual reasons to meet and become reconciled. Pledging their clans to everlasting amity and goodwill in the future, the two spokes-

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men declared fervently '*ti a dɔyam*—we are consanguineous kin'. Let no one betray this kinship in the future; and if a man of either clan does so, let the ancestors and the Earth visit punishment on him. *Dɔyam* was used here to express in the most emphatic way both the state that it was desirable to maintain between the two clans and the special cordiality they felt for one another on this signal occasion of a ceremonial reconciliation after a long breach in their good relations. Similarly, when Tallensi wished to express particular cordiality towards, and confidence in, me they used to say, with great self-satisfaction, '*Nyɛn pana ɛŋ ti dɔyam*—you have now become our kinsman'.

The concept *dɔyam* is the link between the individual's notion of ritual collaboration as a function of kinship and the common idea that ritual collaboration between corporate units is a sign of a corresponding genealogical connexion. For consanguineous kinship[1] is the fundamental condition that permits individuals to join together in a common ritual activity, and the individual's scheme of ritual values is linked to his social frame of reference through the medium of his kinship ties. It is in his relations with his consanguineous kinsfolk that a person has the most direct experience of that amity and solidarity which are assumed to be intrinsic to all ties of ritual collaboration.

The Network of Structural Ties among the Gɔrisi and in the Sie District

The intricate network of structural ties and cleavages that links the Talis clans and lineages among themselves stretches across into the country of the Gɔrisi. There, at Bɔlɔga, at Zuarungu, and elsewhere, we find similar aggregations of local clans and lineages, differentiated from one another and interlinked in a similar pattern to that which we discovered among the Talis; but from the superficial inquiries I was able to make, it seemed that the organization is much less elaborate among the Gɔrisi than among the Talis. These clusters of Gɔre clans and lineages adjacent to the Tallensi are hooked on to the Tale cluster by intercalary lineages such as the Biuk Namoos and Sanaab biis at Bɔlɔga. Thus, Sanaab biis are connected with Ba'ari (cf. p. 88) both by spatial proximity and by ties of clanship, but they lie outside the social horizon of an average member of any of the Hill Talis clans.

The same pattern of interlinked structural ties is found also among the non-Namoo clans and lineages of the Sie district, but again it is not so elaborate and complete a system as that of the Talis. In this district we find the same type of composite clan bearing a local name, considering itself a unit, expressing its corporate identity and solidarity in its relationship to *bɔyar* and *teŋ*, and composed of relatively autonomous maximal lineages each with its own lineage head holding a particular ritual office. Again we find contiguous maximal lineages linked with one another by ties of clanship and of clanship-by-courtesy.

But in this area the chains of linkage are more variable than among the Talis. Political and territorial ties often unite neighbouring groups which

[1] As opposed to affinal kinship (*deen*) which is the prototypical social relationship that excludes sacrificing together.

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621 578 423 comes under the ritual jurisdiction of the Degal tɛndaana, the ritual 'owner' of the land of Bunkiuk, the Gɔlibdaana's clan. As the head of Bunkiuk and headman of Tɛnzugu, which includes Degal, he held political authority over all the territory under the ritual jurisdiction of the latter. Hence this strip of territory, as far as the watercourse, belonged to him. The people dwelling there were no concern of his; let them go elsewhere if they wished.

The Yinduurna'aba, a simple and inarticulate old man, who has never mastered the wiles of modern headmanship, protested vehemently. The Gɔlibdaana's arguments were untenable. The ritual jurisdiction of tɛndaanas had nothing to do with the matter. In any case the Zandoya tɛndaana would contest the Degal tɛndaana's claim. Everybody knows that tɛndaanas acknowledge no boundaries. The group in question was a segment of Zandoya. How could they belong to any other political unit than the latter? To talk of their abandoning the land on which their ancestors had dwelt was preposterous. Indeed, the whole situation was something quite unheard of; it could never have occurred before the coming of the white man, when everyone had his acknowledged place in the society. The truth was that the Gɔlibdaana was deliberately trying to entice his people away from him.

There the matter rested. The case was widely discussed and public opinion, except for the Gɔlibdaana's supporters, sided unanimously with the Yinduurna'aba. Five other cases of the same kind came to my notice; and in all of them the verdict of native custom is unequivocal; social affiliation and not alleged territorial boundaries define the extent of a community. Even the new settlements, though they sprawl more widely than the old settlements and are usually surrounded by considerable tracts of uninhabited land, have no defined geographical boundaries. They can and do go on expanding.

The Concept of the Tɛŋ

621 A Tale settlement can only be identified as a unit by reference to the lineage relationships, politico-ritual ties and cleavages, and jural rights and duties, prevailing within it and between it and its neighbours. That is why we have avoided the word 'village', which conjures up the image of a neatly isolated, compact territorial unit. *Tɛŋ* (pl. *tɛs*) is the native concept denoting a settlement; but no English translation can convey its exact sense. In some ways it is reminiscent of the deme of ancient Greece, a coalescence of local association, lineage organization, common religious cult, and political solidarity. None of these factors serves to demarcate a *tɛŋ* absolutely from adjacent *tɛs*; all of them link together neighbouring *tɛs* or parts of *tɛs* as closely in respect of that one category of social relations as they unite segments of the same *tɛŋ*. A settlement is only a relatively autonomous community. One might perhaps define it as the region of maximum overlap of all the categories of social relations found among the Tallensi.

621 619 829 Native linguistic usage reflects this, for *tɛŋ* has a width of reference varying with the situation. A man beginning a discourse on marriage with '*ti tɛŋɔ, nyɛn di pɔŋa* . . .—In this our land, if you marry a wife . . .'

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is thinking of the country at large as a unit with respect to marriage customs. Hill Talis often describe Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo as one *tɛŋ*. They are thinking of the close bonds uniting these places in opposition to themselves. But Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo are always distinct *tɛs* to one another. Tɛnzugu is described as a single *tɛŋ* when the coherence and close interdependence of the group of clans inhabiting it are emphasized; but when their genealogical cleavages loom foremost they are designated as separate *tɛs*. In the struggle for political dominance now going on between the head of Kpata'ar and the head of Bunkiuk, the partisans of both bitterly denounce one another for 'breaking up the unity of the *tɛŋ*', but insist, at the same time, that each clan holds its *tɛŋ* in its own right and does not come under the jurisdiction of any other, according to native custom.

Underlying these variations in usage is the generic conception of *tɛŋ* as a locality defined in relation to a corporate unit of social structure, a lineage, clan, or interconnected group of clans; and the variation in the width of reference of the concept reflects the variation in the range of corporate solidarity that is effective in different situations. In war the Tɛnzugu clans all hold together; in the matter of marriage one of them might quite easily come into conflict with another. The confluence of local, lineage, and politico-ritual relations, as we have previously noted, is the keel of Tale social organization.

Tɛŋ, like all the key concepts of Tale social organization, has a ritual significance as well. It denotes the Earth in its mystical aspect, either in the generic sense or in the specific sense of a particular sacred spot and its precincts. What is a *tɛŋ* in the sphere of secular relations may be, but often is not, a *tɛŋ* in the system of religious beliefs. There are two aspects to locality as a correlate of social structure: the secular aspect and the sacred. They merge in the social organization and the social philosophy of the Tallensi, and consequently also in linguistic usage. Sometimes one aspect is the focus of a social activity, sometimes the other, sometimes both together. If a man repeats the conventional formula, '*Tɛŋ la pu sayat ziem la ni*—The Earth does not permit bloodshed', his exclusive reference to the mystical aspect of the Earth is obvious; if he says of another settlement or region, '*Ba tɛŋ la mar ki pam*—Their land has plenty of grain', he is thinking solely of the material and secular denotation of the word; if he says of Ba'ari, '*Bam tɛŋ kuob la pu dara*—In their settlement farms are not sold', his implication to anyone familiar with native beliefs is that it is a taboo of the Earth (in its mystical character) at Ba'ari to sell parcels of the earth (in its material character).

Postponing for the moment the further elucidation of these ideas, we may note their most commonplace expression in Tale custom. A settlement name is *ipso facto* the name of the clan or group of maximal lineages whose home it is. A custom arising out of the rule of clan exogamy is that of addressing a wife by an appellation indicating her clan of birth. Most often it is the clan place-name, e.g. Zubieŋa, Wakiiŋa. It may be the name of a well-known *tɛŋbaa* in her natal settlement, e.g. Ba'ari women are called Saniiga, after the sacred grove of that name in Ba'ari. It may be a name indicating differences of custom and belief that distinguish her